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[For data on herding ratios as indices of acculturation, see 10: Krader, AH1 Mongolia, pp. 161-163.]

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essential than the linguistic one, uniting Central Asia with Constantinople.[1]

A brief review of the Pan-Turanian programme will be necessary before approaching the main object of this essay, i.e. the study of the Eastern or Central Asiatic Turks. The term Central Asia, in accordance with Humboldt's definition, embraces the area lying between the Himalayas and the Altai Mountains, the Caspian Sea and Khingan Range. As far as the Western or Osmanly Turks are concerned, they are dealt with in several recent publications, namely, Sir William Ramsay's *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Professor H. A. Gibbon's *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1916), Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (Fisher Unwin, 1917), and *Le Problème Turc*, by Count Léon Ostroróg.[2] Though not dealing primarily with the racial question, these books give a vivid picture of the variety of races living under Osmanly (Ottoman) government, and of the artificiality of the ties that unite them. Sir William Ramsay further tells us how the Osmanly government has tried to develop feelings of unity and patriotism among its subjects on the ground of the common participation in the Islamic religion. But Pan-Islamism—Islam not being exclusively the property of the Turks—would in itself hardly serve to strengthen the position of the Turkic elements of the empire against Arabian and

[1] Since these pages were written the British advance in Asiatic Turkey, together with the situation produced by the Russian Revolution, has led the German-Osmanly diplomatists to revise some 'details' of their programme. See Appendix B.

[2] An English version of this work, entitled *The Turkish Enigma*, in Winifred Stephens's translation, has just been announced by Messrs. Chatto & Windus.

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other alien Mahometans. To give prominence to the Turkic element was not so simple, considering that five centuries of residence in Europe have influenced the ruling classes of the Osmanly in such a way that they have completely lost contact with the Turkic masses subject to their rule; while these, again, by mixture and contact with the races of Asia Minor and south-eastern Europe, have lost the Asiatic character that they once possessed. Yet the upper classes of the Osmanly did not become thoroughly Europeanized, as the Hungarians did under similar conditions, and hence their chances of assimilating the lands and peoples that they conquered in Europe were almost non-existent even before the Balkan War. After that war, there was nothing left to the Osmanly but to turn to Asia, upon which they look as a land of expansion and of compensation for what they have lost in Europe. Hence, a justification for this change of policy was necessary, and this was easily found in the so-called principle of the self-determination of nationalities. The Osmanly thereupon proclaimed themselves to be of one nationality with the people of the far Asiatic lands of Turkestan, Jungaria, and the Siberian steppes.

It may be argued that there is something in the political atmosphere of our century which makes people revert, as it were, to past ages. All who have affinities with both Europe and Asia seem to be ready now to claim their Asiatic blood, as we see that the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, and the Siberian Russians are doing.

But in the case of the Osmanly the sincerity of such a movement becomes doubtful, when we consider that the Osmanly *intelligentsia* have so far never felt themselves at one even with their own Osmanly common people. Thus they have never passed, as have the

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186 101 from the people who left behind the old archaeological remains in Turan (Central Asia).

773 In many instances this propaganda assumes naïve form. Half-legendary kings and leaders of the Turks in Asia have been set up by the propagandists before the Turkish soldiers as hero-ancestors—to say nothing of such historical personages as Attila and Timur! Then again, a legend found by European investigators among many Asiatic Turks, to the effect that they originated from a she-wolf, has now provided an occasion for the abandonment on Turkish standards of the Mahometan crescent in favour of the pre-Mahometan Turkish wolf. The legend, of which there are several versions current among the Turks and Mongols of Central Asia, relates that a white she-wolf—or perhaps a woman with the name Zena (sometimes Bura), which means 'she-wolf'—found and reared an abandoned man-child, who became the ancestor of the Turks (or in the Mongol version—of the Mongols). This explains the appearance of that animal on the war standards of the early Central Asiatic Turks, particularly the Tu-kiu branch, a design imitated by the Osmanly during the present war. Though the Osmanly took up this legend as having been originally Asiatic, the latest researches seem to support the theory of de Guignes that it had a European origin, and was imported into Asia by the Huns. Assuming that the Huns were of Turkic stock, de Guignes thinks that when they were defeated in Europe and retired by way of the Volga, the Urals, and the Altai into Turan, they brought with them the Roman legend of Romulus and Remus, and gave it a Turkic setting by associating it with local Turkic traditions, so that

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subsequently it was accepted as if it had been of local origin.[1]

Such is the story of one of the 'historic heritages' claimed by the Osmanly. But, as a matter of fact, the more current version of the origin of the Turks is that which derives their tribes from Ogus-Khan, son of Kara-Khan, grandson of Dik-Bakui, great-grandson of Abuldji-Khan, who was a direct descendant of Noah. Such at least is the version given in one of the first attempts at recording the Turkic myths relating to their origin.[2]

144 177 197

If from the realm of mythology we turn to the physical or racial side, we are in perplexity as to why the drafters of the Pan-Turanian propaganda entirely disregard the fact that the Osmanly have now more Albanian, Slavonic, Thracian, and Circassian blood in their veins than they have Turkic; that their culture is more Persian, Arabian, and European than Central Asiatic; and that even in language there are divergences no less wide than are to be found among the languages of the Germanic family. All differences are disregarded, and linguistic similarity is magnified into linguistic identity.

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Had the Turks and their allies, the Central Powers, been successful in their military plans, their intentions as regards Central Asia were as follows: '*Thirty to forty millions of Turks will become independent, and together with the ten millions of Ottoman Turks, will form a nation of fifty millions, which may perhaps be compared with that of Germany in that it will have the strength and*

[1] J. de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, vol. I, pt. ii, Book I, pp. 371-3.

[2] Recorded by Rashid al-Din, quoted by Radloff, *Concerning the Uigur*, p. 1.

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includes these people, and there is some linguistic excuse for this in the case of the Azerbeijan. Before the present war representatives of many Russian Mahometans could be found at the Pan-Islamic Conferences in Turkey, and within Russia they formed a 'Russian Mussulman Party' in the Duma, but so far they have never been united on ground of racial or national community. Although these East European Turks will play an important rôle in the politics of the near future, and have already played their part in the Caucasus, they will not be dealt with here, since they are not typically representative of the Eastern Turks. Besides, the problems relating to them are beyond the boundary of Asia.

The classification here proposed differs from that given by Vambéry[1] in 1885, in that his first four groups, viz. Siberian Turks, Central Asiatic Turks, Volga Turks, and Pontus Turks, are grouped together under the name Eastern Turks, leaving his fifth group, Western Turks, unaltered.

The Eastern Turks.

Before tracing the Eastern Turks in history, some account must be given of them as they are at the present day. Politically, almost all of them are dependent on Russia; only some 1½–2 millions are subject to China. Culturally and ethnically they fall into two groups, differing widely from each other.

The first group consists of the Turks of Turkestan and some of the Turks of the Caspian Steppe country. Since their appearance in this region they have been constantly under Iranian influence, and hence have

[1] A. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 85–6.

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physically and culturally become Iranized. Considering also that they settled in the country which already in the time of the *Avesta* bore the name Iran (as opposed to Turan), there is ample justification for calling them the *Iranian Turks*.

The other group consists of the Turks—many of them called Tatars—of the Steppe country, Southern Siberia, Jungaria, and Northern Mongolia, including the Altai and Sayan Mountains. Thanks to the geographical structure of the country, these Turks have been more shut off from foreign influence than the first group, though they have always been to a certain extent under obligations to the culture of China, and lately to that of Russia also. These may be called the *Turanian Turks*.

The Eastern Turks in Asiatic Russia number altogether some eight millions,[1] of which the Iranian Turks account for about six millions. The Iranian Turks form 92 per cent. of the population of Turkestan. Out of the 60 per cent. of Turkic population in the Caspian Steppe country, about one-third may be regarded as Iranized.

The Turanian Turks form an unimportant percentage among the Russian, Mongols, and Chinese in the midst of whom they live; their number in south-western

[1] The statistics here given concerning the Turks of the Russian State are based on the census of 1897 and an additional local census of 1911. See *Asiatic Russia*, edited by the Immigration Committee, St. Petersburg, 1914, vol. I. It should be noted, however, that the later census shows an increase over the earlier one greater than can be accounted for by a natural increase in the birth-rate. This is probably due to the fact that the census of 1911 was carried out by more careful observers. It is more reliable as far as linguistic grouping goes, but its estimates of the number of people professing Russian Orthodoxy are less correct.

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discoveries, who used the Aramaean characters during the three or four centuries which divide the time of Arsasides (whose power was destroyed by Ardashir, founder of the Sassanian Empire in 220 A.D.) from that of the Yenisei inscriptions. The assumption is that in some remote parts of the Sassanian Empire the Aramaean characters still continued to exist for some time, and that the earliest Turkic writings are still undiscovered. In any case, Professor Donner was disposed to take the Aramaean rather than the Indo-Bactrian or Kharosthi as the prototype of the Yenisei writing.[1] The popular opinion current until recently, however, was that the Uigur obtained their written character from the Nestorian monks, who exercised considerable influence in Turanian lands from the fifth century A.D. onwards, and who themselves used a Syriac language. Though the influence of the Nestorian missionaries was doubtless very profound, and though their language was probably known to some of the Turks, especially to the Uigur and the Kirei, the Yenisei inscriptions seem to have been modelled on a Semitic writing more primitive than the Syriac of the fifth century A.D., or even than the character in use during the latter part of the Arsasides dynasty, i.e. the third century A.D.[2]

Here must be mentioned a suggestion coming from

[1] Professor E. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, advances a theory that the Uigur character, especially in its most archaic form, is an adaptation of the Soghdian ('Uigurica', *Abh. Akad.*, Berlin, 1908–10). M. Gauthiot, accepting this, says that the distinctive character of the Uigur inscriptions is due to the adaptation to the old Turkic language of the phonetic system of a quite different type of language, viz. North Iranian and Soghdian (R. Gauthiot, 'De l'Alphabet Sogdien', *J. A.*, Jan.–Feb., 1911, p. 90).

[2] O. Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

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asceticism.[1] In a way, they play the rôle of Calvinists in the Mahometan world; on the other hand, the influence of Buddhism still remains in the towns, while in the mountains and steppes there still lives a strong animistic cult, sometimes intermixed with Mahometanism.

Mahometanism, though introduced among the upper classes in the tenth century, did not spread among the masscs of Turkestan until the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and it is now known that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christianity, especially Nestorian Christianity, was a great rival of Mahometanism in the western part of Turkestan.

The people of the eastern part of Turkestan, especially the Kirghis and various descendants of the Uigur, were never great adherents of Mahometanism. In general, it is the Sarts, the Usbegs, and the Tadjik who are the most devoted Mussulmans. Still, if we compare the number of Mahometans in Russian Central Asia in 1911 (8,223,982) with their number in 1897 (6,996,654), it appears that Mahometanism is still spreading in Turkestan, though its increase in Siberia is negligible (128,403 in 1911, against 126,587 in 1897). The nomads of the north-east—i. e. of Semirechie, Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, and Uralsk—have been but slightly affected by Mahometanism, and it is curious to know that some of the most Turkic sections of all the Eastern Turks, the Kaizak and the Kirghis, accepted it only after the Russian conquest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, assisted by the Russian officials! They still follow their customary law, *zang* (*'ādat* in Arabian), and if they give it up it is to accept, not the Mahometan written law, *sheriat*,

[1] A. Vambéry, 'Muhammadanism in Asiatic Turkey', *E. R. E.*, 1915, pp. 885-8.

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others form a chorus. The feathered thread is the road by which the song rises to the sky. The meat which has been prepared on the 'senior fire' is taken out and carried round in a circle, in the direction of the sun. After that the meat, with all the articles used in its preparation, is burnt on the 'senior fire', and if the smoke goes straight to the sky it is a good omen for the clan. Then only is the meat which was prepared on the 'junior fire' ceremonially eaten, after which all the bones and remains of the feast have to be burnt on the 'senior fire'.[1]

Ethnography.

The Iranian Turks.

The question now arises, What Turkic nations go to form the group of Iranian Turks?

THE TURKOMANS. Their number in Persia, Khiva, and Bokhara is about 600,000. Of these 290,000 (in 1911, as against 248,000 in 1897) are in Transcaspian territory of Turkestan. Among the Turkomans subject to Russia must also be reckoned the Caucasian Turkomans, some 11,000.[2]

The Turkomans of Turkestan were subjugated by the Russians in 1881 after a stubborn resistance. The Russians put a stop to their slave trade, and from that time they began to be more settled and to take up agriculture. But even now a large proportion are still nomadic horse-breeders, adhering to the customary law

[1] S. D. Maynagasheff, 'Sacrifice to the Sky among the Beltir', *Literary Collection of the Anthropological Museum of the Acad. of Science*, Petrograd, 1915, vol. III, pp. 93-102.

[2] The Turkomans of the Ottoman Empire, commonly called Turkmen or Avshahr, are not dealt with here.

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Kalpak who in the eleventh century were the borderland population of Southern Russia, it is difficult to ascertain, but possibly they re-migrated to Asia from European Russia in the eighteenth century, where Howorth thinks they formed one tribe of the Nogai-Pyechenyeg on the Yaik River.[1]

The Turanian Turks.

It is impossible to draw a well-defined line between the Iranian and the Turanian groups of the Eastern Turks. Thus the Kaizak, who are here reckoned among the Iranian Turks, are in many respects closely allied to the Kara-Kirghis, who may be called the descendants of the Yenisei Kirghis. They have also affinities with the Turks of Eastern Turkestan, of Northern Mongolia, and of Siberia, all of whom might be called Turanian.

It is important to bear in mind that at present the adjective 'Turanian', as applied to these people, really means that they are under Mongolian, Chinese, and Tibetan cultural influences, while they have also retained to some extent the original traits of their pre-Mahometan Turkic culture. The Iranian group has fewer traits of this old Turkic culture left, owing to the predominance of Persian and Arabic cultural elements, and when we pass to the Western Turks, the infiltration of Mediterranean and Central European influence leaves few points of resemblance, other than language, between them and the Turanian Turks living one on each side of the main mass of Turkic-speaking peoples.

The Kirghis, as has been said, are to be distinguished

[1] H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. II, p. 5.

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177 from the people erroneously called Kirghis, namely the Kaizak, who were dealt with among the Iranian Turks. The Kirghis, or 'Eastern Kirghis', are as a matter of fact, together with the Altai 'Tatars' and the Kirei, the truest representatives of the Turanian Turks. The name seems to be derived[1] from *kir* (*kr*), 'cultivated field', and shows that these people were originally agriculturists, as indeed we know they were during at least the period from the sixth century up to the time when the occupation of the upper Yenisei, first by the Mongol Altyn Khan, and then by the Russians, forced many of them to migrate farther south, and to take up a pastoral life. Even now part of them are agriculturists and hunters, and it is only that section which was subjected to the most frequent migrations that have adopted what may be called horse-culture. This may be defined as a mode of life dependent on cattle and especially horse breeding, hence their nomadic habits. They use the horse for riding, he provides them with food, and to a certain extent with clothing, while for heavy draught work it is the dromedary which is chiefly used.

101 The Kirghis are called by the Russians 'Eastern', 'Burut', 'Black' (Kara), or 'Mountain' Kirghis; the latter is used to distinguish them from the Kaizak Kirghis of the plains. Their home was since the beginning of our era in the valley of the Yenisei, whence they moved south under the advance of the

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773 [1] Another derivation of the name is *kyrk kys*, meaning 'forty girls', and the legend tracing the Kirghis from forty women from China who married forty men of U-si seems to uphold this (Schott, 'Über die ächten Kirgisen', *Abhandl. Berliner Akad.*, 1865, p. 432). But as a matter of fact the name by which they call themselves is not Kirghis but Krgyz.

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by their neighbours. It must be remembered that while the reindeer is not known to the Turks of Tian-Shan and the upper Yenisei, the latter people have several other species of deer, especially the elk (*Cervus alces*) and the maral (*Cervus elephas*). The domesticated deer is rare.

Forming a wedge between the Tungusic and the Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Yakut impose their language, together with many of their customs, on both these groups, as well as on the Russian settlers. In religion they are typical Shamanists.

On meeting a Yakut among the various Mongoloid peoples of the north, one is at once struck with the difference in his physiognomy. His hair and eyes are darker, his nose narrower and better marked, and on the whole he gives the impression of possessing Southern, and one might almost say Semitic, characteristics. And yet he can hardly be suspected of having any Arabic strain.

The *Siberian Tatars* live chiefly in the Tomsk and Yeniseisk Governments. In the Tomsk Government, 70 per cent. of them do not know any language but their own; the remaining 30 per cent. speak Russian also. In the Yeniseisk Government only 12 per cent. speak the Russian language besides their own.

As to their religion some of them are Mahometans, namely:

1. Tobolsk Tatars and 'Siberian Bokharians' of the Tobolsk district.
2. The Baraba Tatars of the Kainsk district.
3. The Tomsk Tatars of the Mariinsk district.
4. The Kuznietsk Tatars of the Kuznietsk and Barnaul district.

Others[1] are still Shamanists or 'Christian-Shamanists',

[1] [i.e. Siberian Tartars--- Analyst]

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101 people who mix their pagan practices with some of the
177 Russian Orthodox Church beliefs. Those are:
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5. The Forest (Chern) Tatars of the Biisk district.
6. The Teleut and Telengit of the Biisk and Kuznietsk districts.
7. The Kumandits (or 'White Kalmucks') of the Kuznietsk and Biisk districts.
8. The Shortes and Lebyedints of the Kuznietsk district.
9. The Kyzyl and Chulim natives of the Achinsk district.
10. The Abakan Tatars (Kachints, Koibal, Beltir, and Sagai) of the Minusinsk district.
11. The Karagass of the Nijneudinsk district of the government of Irkutsk.
12. The Kamashints of the Kansk district.

177 The *Teleut* of the Kuznietsk district are perhaps the
101 most Russified, while the *Telengit*, along the rivers
144 Biya and Katun, are very much mixed with the Mongols. The following tribes are said to be mixed with the Ugrian-Ostyak, the Yenisei-Ostyak, and the Samoyed, though in culture, language, and tradition they are now Turkic:

1, The Kamashints; 2, the Karagass; 3, the Koibal; 4, the Beltir; 5, the Kyzyl; 6, the Shortes; 7, the Kumandints.

144 The racial origin of these tribes has been defined,
618 often superficially, merely judging from the names of their clans. Thus the Kyzyl (*Kysi*, 'man') are composed of ten classes: Kyzyl, Malo-Achin, Bolshe-Achin, Agy, Bassagar, Kamnar, Argyn, Kalmak, Kurchik, Shui. Of these, Argyn clan is said to be the remnant of the Kaizak of the Middle Orda, because those people have also had a clan of this name. Kalmak clan is also

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powerful Finnic state of Ugra, which in the tenth and eleventh centuries stretched between the Volga and the Urals, owes its name to the Uigur. 174

Of the Uigur who stayed in Asia, i.e. the Togus Uigur, we know that in the fifth century they emancipated themselves from the power of the Jwen-Jwen, and created an independent state called by the Chinese Hao-fu. At the time of the hegemony of the Tu-kiu the Uigur also were subdued to them. When in turn the leading rôle among the Turks of Central Asia passed to the Uigur dynasty (A. D. 744–847), the name of the state was again Togus-Uigur ('Nine Tribes'), though it was composed of more than that number of tribes. The capital of the Khagan of the Togus-Uigur was Karakorum on the River Orkhon. Some fourteen Khagans ruled during the period of Uigur power. When, in consequence of the intrigues of the Chinese with the other Turkic tribes, the Uigur dynasty and political power were undermined and finally overthrown at the hands of the Kirghis (A. D. 847), the Uigur culture, which was of a high order, still flourished in Western China, Eastern Turkestan, and the district of Hami. It was in that district that the later Uigur state, under the dynasty of the Arslan Khans, continued its existence, and curiously enough it enjoyed an independent and influential position, since its civilization spread among the nomadic Mongols, and even in Transoxania. This position the Uigur owed solely to their great ability, and to their sedentary agricultural mode of life, which raised them, as it did the Yenisei Kirghis, above their nomadic neighbours. They came under the influence of Buddhism, of Christianity, and later on of Islam. In the western part of the Uigur country 175 [177]

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adopted the name of the mountain Durkō as a tribal name.

There seems to be some confusion as to the geographical position of the mountain thus connected with the rise of the Durkō, Tu-kiu, or Turks. Professor Parker[1] places it not far from the city of Shan-tan in the modern province of Kan-su, which in the sixth century was called Kin-shan, i. e. 'Golden Mountains'. But the birthplace of the Turks is usually held to be the Altai Mountains, which are also called Kin-shan. Since when we first hear of the Turks they are expert metal-workers, it would seem that the Altai, with its incomparable mineral wealth, is more likely to be the Kin-shan of the Chinese sources. All modern archaeological and ethnological investigations support this view.

At the end of the fifth century the Tu-kiu became very prosperous, probably thanks to their metal industry and the richness of the mountains near which they settled, and in A. D. 530 their prince Tumen (Tumin) threw off the yoke of the Jwen-Jwen and soon subjugated all the Turkic states of Central Asia to himself, adopting the title of Il-Khagan.[2] For a short time—

[1] Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[2] It would seem that the title Khagan (Khan), usually so closely associated with the Turks, and occurring in the Turkic inscriptions of the Orkhon, is not Turkic, but Tungus. But this hypothesis of Blochet holds good only if it be assumed that the Jwen-Jwen were Tungus, and that Tumen used their title after taking the hegemony in Central Asia from them. The title used by the chiefs of the Huns was Chab-gu, and at the time when the Huns were at the height of their power the chiefs of the Jwen-Jwen Tungus adopted the title Chab-gu, until at the beginning of the fifth century they were strong enough to impose on other people their own title of Khagan, which was taken up by Tuimien in 552 (Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 305).

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from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh centuries—the Turks of Central Asia were again united and independent, as at the time of Mété. Soon, however, the eastern part of the empire passed under Chinese domination. Then it again became independent under the Uigur dynasty (A. D. 744–847).

The western part of the Tumen Empire escaped the domination of the Chinese only to fall under Arabian influence, and subsequently under the intellectual supremacy of Iran, during the renaissance of Iranian culture under the dynasty of the Samanides in the tenth century. Thus the splendour of Transoxania at that time was obviously the work of the Persians, not of the Turks, who must be judged rather by the civilization of the Eastern Empires. It was from these Eastern Empires that the main migrations of the Turks of that epoch originated.

From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries the Turks under Karluk[1] and Seljuk advanced into Turkestan, increasing the Turkic population there and destroying the Iranian culture. Some of them pushed on farther towards Asia Minor, while others followed a northern route via the Caspian and Black Sea steppes.

Four main groups of Turkic invaders of Southern Russia can be distinguished between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries: the Pyechenyeg or Kangli, the Khazar (possibly the plural of Khazak, Kaizak), the Uz (Ghuz) or Turki, and the Kuman (Kipchak) or Polovtsy.[2]

[1] A. Vambéry identifies the people of Karluk with the tribe of Naiman, and says that they were Turks (*op. cit.*, p. 15). Cahun would also class the tribe of Naiman, as well as the other Christian tribe, the Kirei, as Turks (*op. cit.*, pp. 208–9), while Skrine and Ross class both Kirei and Naiman as Mongols (*op. cit.*, p. 152).

[2] P. Golubowski, *op. cit.*, p. 56. See p. 46.